


Cal  Read and hand to your Neighbor. *2*

THE FEARFUL ISSUE
TO BE DECIDED IN NOVEMBER NEXT!

SHALL THE
CONSTITUTION
AND
THE UNION
STAND OR FALL?

FREMONT,
THE SECTIONAL CANDIDATE
OF THE
ADVOCATES OF DISSOLUTION!

BUCHANAN,
THE CANDIDATE OF THOSE WHO ADVOCATE
ONE COUNTRY! ONE UNION!
ONE CONSTITUTION!
AND
ONE DESTINY!

FREMONT AND HIS FRIENDS!

BEHOLD THE RECORD!

WE propose showing by indubitable testimony that John C. Fremont's leading friends are now the open enemies of the Federal Constitution; the enemies of the Union; the enemies of one-half of the States of the Union; the enemies of the laws of Congress; and the enemies to equality of the States.

THE BOSTON LIBERATOR—Garrison's organ—has finally decided to support John C. Fremont, as may be seen from the following paragraph announcing his nomination, which we copy from that paper of the 20th of June, 1856, and from other testimony which we subjoin:

"PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATIONS.—At the Anti-Fillmore American Convention, held at New York last week, Hon. Nathaniel P. Banks, of Massachusetts, was nominated for the Presidency, and Gov. Johnston, of Pennsylvania, for the Vice-Presidency. *Of course, Mr. Banks will decline this nomination. A small squad seceded, met in another hall, and nominated Com. Stockton, of New Jersey, and Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina, for the same offices—a mere farce.* On Wednesday last, the National Republican Convention, at Philadelphia, nominated, on the first ballot, as the Republican candidate for the Presidency, Hon. John C. Fremont, of California. THE ENTHUSIASM WAS BOUNDLESS."

Banks, it will be seen, has withdrawn according to order; and all the Abolition Know Nothings are out for Fremont.

The same number of the same paper, The Liberator, holds the following language:

"*The United States Constitution is a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell.*"—See Liberator, June 20, 1856.

And now, from the same paper, observe the fearful issue involved in this Presidential contest. THIS IS THE ISSUE MADE PUBLIC IN THE LIBERATOR SINCE FREMONT'S NOMINATION:

"BUT ONE ISSUE—THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION.—See what the desperate and infernal spirit of the South is, by turning to the 'Refuge of Oppression,' and by reading the intelligence from Kansas in subsequent columns, and then sign and circulate this petition.

"To the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States:

"The undersigned, citizens and inhabitants of State of
respectfully submit to Congress:

"That as, in the nature of things, antagonistical principles, interests, pursuits, and institutions can never unite:

"That an experience of more than threescore years having demonstrated that there can be no real union between the North and the South, but, on the contrary, ever increasing alienation and strife, at the imminent hazard of civil war, in consequence of their conflicting views in relation to Freedom and Slavery:

"That the South, having declared it to be not only her right and purpose to eternise her slave system where it now exists, but to extend it over all the territories that now belong or may hereafter be annexed to the Republic, come what may; and having outlawed from her soil the entire free colored population of the North, made it perilous for any Northern white citizen to exercise his constitutional right of freedom of speech in that section of the country, and even in the national capital, and proclaimed her hostility to all free institutions universally:

"We, therefore, believe that the time has come for a new arrangement of elements so hostile, of interests so irreconcilable, of institutions so incongruous; and we earnestly request Congress, at its present session, to take such initiatory measures for the speedy, peaceful, and equitable dissolution of the existing Union as the exigencies of the case require—leaving the South to depend upon her own resources, and to take all the responsibility, in the maintenance of her slave system, and the North to organize an independent government in accordance with her own ideas of justice and the rights of man."—*Liberator*, June 20, 1856.

Since the above was written, the Boston Liberator, the infidel and disunion organ, through its editor, Garrison, *comes out still more openly for Fremont.*

In a speech delivered at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention on the 29th of May, 1856, by Wm. Lloyd Garrison, we have a flood of light shed on the relation between abolitionism and republicanism, which divests the subject of all doubt or uncertainty.

It would seem that some of the brothers or sisters in the Convention had spoken rather harshly of the Black Republicans, when Mr. Garrison rebuked them as follows:

"I come now to the Republican party ; and while I do not forget its actual position under the Constitution and within the Union, I am constrained to differ in judgment from some of my respected friends here about the comparative merits of that party. I think that they do not always accord to it all that justice demands; *that they overlook the necessary formation of such a party as the result of our moral agitation*; and I marvel that they do not see that to quarrel with it, to the extent they are doing, is to quarrel *with cause and effect—with the work of our own hands.*"

When Mr. Garrison broached the idea that the Black Republicans were the offspring of the Abolitionists, and for that reason that they ought to be treated tenderly, Sister Foster could not restrain the instincts of her nature, and she spoke out in the meeting as follows :

"Mrs. Foster.—I admit that the party *is our own progeny* ; but, as *every child needs a great deal of reproof* and constant effort to bring it up in the way it should go, this party, *which is the necessary offspring of our efforts, needs constant admonition and rebuke* ; and, God giving me strength, *I will not spare it an hour until it is fully educated, reformed, and brought up to the high position of truth and duty.* [Applause.]"

At this point Brother Foster came to the relief of his spouse, and brought Mr. Garrison to the confessional by a very pertinent interrogatory :

"Mr. Foster.—Do you believe they can succeed?"

The Black Republican progeny of Mr. Garrison and Mrs. Stowe will not thank their great father for the candor of his reply to this question, but it is not the less truthful for the reason that it is disagreeable to them.

"Mr. Garrison.—*Certainly not!* But that is not the question. *They* believe that they can. They laugh at my incredulity because I do not believe it. I think that, ere long, they will be satisfied that I am right, and that they have been deluded; in which case, I expect then to hear them cry, 'EXCELSIOR—COME UP HIGHER!' *and to see many of them take their position under the banner of Disunion.*"

One more quotation from Mr. Garrison makes the record complete :

"I cannot, therefore, agree with such of our friends here as regard it as the worst or most dangerous party with which our movement has to contend. In its attitude toward the slave power, in the amount of conscience and humanity to be found in it, in its direct effort to baffle the designs of the slave oligarchy respecting the Territories of the country, it is a far better party than either of the others, and to that extent it is a sign of progress which we have no cause to lament. *I have said again and again, that in*

proportion to the growth of disunionism will be the growth of republicanism or free-soilism. I think if you will examine the map of Massachusetts, for example, you will find this to hold true, with singular uniformity: that in those places where there are the most abolitionists who have disfranchised themselves for conscience and the slave's sake, the heaviest vote is thrown for the free-soil ticket. This is as inevitable as the law of gravitation. The greater includes the less. If we should begin our work over again, and try the same experiment ten thousand times over, we should have the same result in the formation of the same party. Why, then, should any one speak in a tone of despondency, or feel that our cause is in imminent danger of being wrecked? Is this to take a philosophical view of the subject? Such, then, is my judgment of the Republican party."

The Liberator, of the last 4th of July, more boldly throws off the mask. Under the head of "The Great Fremont Meeting in New York," Garrison copies from the Herald and Tribune certain exaggerated extracts in favor of Fremont; and in his editorial column he thus pours out his feelings:

"INDEPENDENCE DAY.—This is the Eightieth Anniversary of American Independence. That Independence began in a spirit of compromise with the foul spirit of Slavery; it ends with every seventh person in the land a chattel slave,—the universal mastery of a slaveholding oligarchy,—the overthrow of all the constitutional rights of Northern citizens,—the reign of Lynch Law and Border Ruffianism throughout the entire South,—the subversion of the National Government by a clique of desperate and unprincipled demagogues, of which the President is a miserable and perjured tool,—the reign of violence, tyranny, and blood, on a frightful scale. *So much for disregarding the 'Higher Law' by our fathers! So much for entering into 'a covenant with death, and an agreement with hell!' Truly, God is just, and our national retribution another striking proof that, as a people sow, so shall they also reap.* A NEW REVOLUTION HAS BEGUN,—ANOTHER SECESSION is to take place,—and FREEDOM FOR ALL secured upon a sure basis. 'NO UNION WITH SLAVE-HOLDERS!'"

How Seward hopes to Change the Constitution and to Dissolve the Union, beginning with Fremont's Election to the Presidency.

From Seward's speech at Albany, Oct. 12, 1855.

"Slavery is not, and never can be, perpetual. It will be overthrown either peacefully and lawfully under this Constitution or it will work the subversion of the Constitution together with its own overthrow. Then the slaveholders would perish in the struggle. The change can now be made without violence, and by the agency of the ballot-box. The temper of the nation is just, liberal, and forbearing. *It will contribute any money and endure any sacrifices to effect this great and important change; indeed, it is half made already.*"

William H. Seward was known at the Abolition Convention, at Philadelphia, first as a candidate, and afterwards as one of Fremont's warmest supporters. Indeed, it is well known that to Chase, Seward, and Greeley, Fremont is mainly indebted for his nomination: they defeated McLean. "When Henry Wilson mentioned the name of SEWARD, says the correspondent of the *Pittsburg (Pa.) Gazette*, *the whole Convention rose to its feet, gave the New York Senator three times three, and could not have been warmer in their applause if he had just been nominated for President by acclamation.*"

Seward's Agitation after the Adoption of the Compromise Measures.

It is alleged by the Abolitionists that the Nebraska issue reopened the slavery agitation. To show how this is, it is only necessary to say that in April of 1851, when the cry of repeal was raised against the fugitive slave law as the Shibboleth of the party opposing the democracy, the Abolitionists of Massachusetts called a convention to assist in this repeal, and invited Mr. Seward to attend. He replied in a letter, of which the following is an extract:

"AUBURN, April 5, 1851.

"DEAR SIR: Your letter inviting me to attend a convention of the people of Massachusetts opposed to the fugitive slave law, and to communicate in writing my opinion on that statute, if I should be unable to attend the convention, has been received.

"While offering the pressure of duties here too long deferred as an apology for non-attendance, I pray you to assure the committee in whose behalf you act of my profound sense of their courtesy and kindness. It would be an honor to be invited to address the people of Massachusetts on any subject, but it might well satisfy a generous ambition to be called upon to speak to that great and enlightened Commonwealth on a question of human rights and civil liberty.

"I confess, sir, that I have earnestly desired not to mingle in the popular discussions of the measures of the last Congress. The issue necessarily involves the claims of their advocates and adversaries in the public councils to the confidence of the country. Some of those advocates have entered the popular arena, criminating those from whom they had differed, while others have endeavored by extraordinary means either to control discussion or to suppress it altogether, and thus they have shown themselves disqualified, by prejudice or interest, for practising that impartiality and candor which the occasion demanded.

"I am unwilling even to seem to imply, by reiterating arguments already before the public, either any distrust of the position of those with whom I stood in Congress or impatience for that favorable popular verdict which I believe to be near, and know to be ultimately certain.

"Nevertheless, there can be no impropriety in my declaring, when thus

questioned, the opinions which will govern my vote upon any occasion when the fugitive slave law shall come up for review in the national legislature.

"I think the act signally unwise, because it is an attempt, by a purely federative government, to extend the economy of slave States throughout States which repudiate slavery as a moral, social, and political evil. Any despotic government would awaken sedition from its profoundest slumbers by such an attempt.

"The attempt by the government has aroused constitutional resistance, which will not cease until the effort shall be relinquished. He who teaches another faith than this, whether self-deceived or not, misleads. I think, also, that the attempt was unnecessary; that political ends—merely political ends—and not real evils resulting from the escape of slaves, constituted the prevailing motives to the enactment."

Disunionism in the House of Representatives.

Nathaniel P. Banks, Abolitionist and Disunionist, was elected Speaker of the House *by a solid sectional vote: he did not get one vote from the South*. He made the example now being followed by Fremont. His sentiments may be understood from the following unanswered extract from his speech to a Disunion meeting in New England:

"Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the perpetuation of the Union, though *I am willing in a certain state of circumstances to let it 'slide,'* I have no fear for its perpetuation. But let me say, if the chief object of the people of this country be to maintain and propagate chattel property in man, in other words, human slavery, *this Union cannot and ought not to stand.*"

Mr. Banks is now actively leading the Abolition Know Nothings in support of Fremont.

But, before Banks was elected Speaker, Giddings had him instructed in the work of disunion. We copy from the Columbus (Ohio) State Journal, a Disunion paper. The following extract, taken from a Washington letter, dated the 5th of December, and appearing in the Journal, will throw considerable light upon the leading motives which instigated the opposition in the House of Representatives:

"On the 1st inst., at a very full meeting of the members opposed to the extension of slavery, the following resolution, offered by that vigilant, tried, and stern old man, Mr. Giddings, was adopted without a dissenting voice:

"Resolved, That we will support no man for Speaker who is not pledged to carry out the parliamentary law by giving to each proposed measure ordered by the House to be committed a majority of such special committee, and to organize the standing committees of the House by placing on each a majority of the friends of freedom, and who are favorable to making reports on all petitions committed to them."

Giddings, in a letter to the Ashtabula (O.) Sentinel, dated Washington, December 6, 1855 (a letter which he subsequently admitted to be his on the floor of the House), spoke of this abolition triumph in the following strains:

"This unanimity of feeling was so strongly exhibited that my own mind ran back to other scenes and other times, the history of which is familiar to my readers; but the recollection is, perhaps, more vividly impressed on my own mind than that of any other man living. I will not, however, trust my pen nor my language to express the emotions which I then experienced.

"Our friends now appeared to feel that we had found a common sentiment and a common principle on which we could rally. Hope seemed to cheer them, and a firmer purpose to unite appeared to pervade the minds of all present."

The sentiments of Giddings against the South are those of Garrison, Greeley, and Phillips. No man has exhibited such ferocious hostility to the fugitive slave law, to the compromise measures, and to the Federal Constitution. His speeches, full of treason and of war, would fill a volume. We give the following specimens:

"I look forward to the day when there shall be a *servile insurrection* in the South; when the black man, armed with *British bayonets*, and led on by *British officers*, shall assert his freedom, and wage a war of extermination against his master; when the *torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South*, and blot out the last vestige of slavery. And though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, *yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium.*"

The following extracts are taken from a letter addressed by the Hon. J. R. Giddings, of the House of Representatives, to an anti fugitive slave law meeting held at Palmyra, Ohio, in 1850:

"The fugitive slave law commands us to participate in arresting and sending victims to this Southern immolation by torture a thousand times more cruel than ordinary assassination. I would be as willing to handle the scourge—to sink the thong into his quivering flesh, and to tear from him the life which God has given him—as to seize him and hand him over to his tormentors, with the full knowledge and conviction that they will do it. Nor is the crime of the slave-catcher less in the sight of God and good men than is the guilt of him who consummates the outrage by this final sacrifice of the victim.

"Yet we are told we must obey this law, and perpetuate these crimes, until a slave-ridden Congress shall see fit to reclaim us from such sin against God by repealing the law. '*Whether it be right to obey God rather than man, judge ye.*'

"From my innermost soul, I abhor, detest, and repudiate this law. I

despise the human being who would obey it, if such a being has existence. I should regard such a man as a moral nuisance, contaminating the air of freedom, and would kick him from my door should he attempt to enter my dwelling.

"The authors of this law may take from me my substance, may imprison me, or take my life; but they have not the power to degrade me, by compelling me to commit such transcendent crimes against my fellow-man and against God's law.

"I rejoice exceedingly that the people of the free States comprehend and appreciate this insult to every freeman at the North. Public feeling is aroused; popular indignation is speaking trumpet-tongued to those servants of the people who dared thus degrade the American character by constituting us the catchpoles of Southern slave-hunters."

Giddings was the most prominent leader for Fremont in the Black Republican Convention of the 17th of June. See the testimony of the *National Era*, page 12.

Banks, having been instructed by Giddings, was elected. And how did he constitute the Committees of the House? BY SECTIONALIZING THE HOUSE! *Every leading committee has an Abolition Disunionist for chairman, and a Disunion majority!* There are some thirty-five committees in the House, and but one Southern Democrat was appointed chairman of a committee of the least consequence, Gen. Quitman, of Mississippi. Giddings, Grow, Campbell, of Ohio, Washburn, of Maine, Mace, Bennett, of New York, Benson, Simmons, of New York, Morgan, of New York, &c., &c., all Black Republicans, monopolized all the great committees. *Thus was the work of Disunion formally begun in the Congress of the United States!* This monstrous act, unprecedented in all our history, was the deliberate work of the men who now surround Fremont. Will he hesitate to carry out the baleful project, if elected? Will those who rule him be less bold than they are in Congress, when they lay hands on the Government and the Constitution? It would be madness to doubt them.

Fremont's Friends in Ohio.

The Abolitionist Convention, which nominated Salmon P. Chase, for Governor of Ohio, adopted the following resolutions. All these fanatics are now for Fremont:

"Resolved, That we cannot respect, nor can we confide, in those 'Lower Law' doctors of Divinity, who hold human laws above the laws of God; nor can we concur in their teachings, that the Divine law is subject to Congressional Compromise."—*Chase Convention, Ravenna.*

"Resolved, That we hereby give it distinctly to be understood, by this

nation and the world, that, as Abolitionists, considering that the strength of our cause lies in its righteousness, and our hopes for it in our conformity to the laws of God, and our support for the rights of man, we owe to the *Sovereign Ruler of the Universe*, as a proof of our allegiance to Him, in all our civil relations and offices, whether as friends, citizens, or as public functionaries, sworn to support the Constitution of the United States, to regard and treat the third clause of the instrument, whenever applied in the case of a fugitive slave, as utterly *null* and *void*, and consequently as forming no part of the Constitution of the United States, whenever we are called upon or sworn to support it.”—*Chase Convention*.

SALMON P. CHASE was at the Abolition Convention, at Philadelphia, on the 17th of June, by letter and originally as a candidate—afterwards a zealous supporter of Fremont for nomination. *He is an original old line Abolitionist, in favor of negro suffrage and negro equality ; opposed to the Constitutional provisions for the rendition of fugitive slaves ; in favor of excluding all slaveholders from office ; believes that slavery in the States would not continue a year after the accession of the Anti-slavery party to power ; and thinks that it ought to be abolished by the Constitutional power of Congress, and the State Legislatures.*

So BENJAMIN F. WADE, now a U. S. Senator from Ohio, is a supporter of Fremont, and a leader of the party. Hear him :

“He thought there was but one issue before the people, and that was the question of American slavery. *He said the Whig party is not only dead, but stinks.* It shows signs occasionally of convulsive spasms, as is sometimes exhibited in the dead snake’s tail after the head and body have been buried.

“*There is really no union now between the North and the South*, and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of more bitter rancor towards each other, than these two nations of the Republic. The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in divesting it entirely from all taint of slavery.”

RUFUS P. SPAULDING was a member and leader of the Convention. Hear him :

“In the case of the alternative being presented of the continuance of slavery or a dissolution of the Union, I am for dissolution, and I care not how quick it comes.”

HORACE MANN, formerly of Massachusetts, and now of Ohio, is the supporter of Fremont. Hear him :

“In conclusion I have only to add that such is my solemn and abiding conviction of the character of slavery, that, under a full sense of my re-

sponsibility to my country and my God, I deliberately say, *better disunion—better a civil or a servile war—better anything that God in his providence shall send—than an extension of the bounds of slavery.*”

What killed off Judge McLean at Philadelphia.

The public have long known Judge McLean as a man of learning and ability and firmness of character. When consulted by the “Republicans” on the subject of being a candidate for the Presidency, he made this distinct avowal:

“But my mind has been made up, if elected, I would reform the government and rest the executive power on the great principles of the Constitution, or fall in the attempt. On no other condition could I accept the office of President. This involves no sectionalism, except that which arises from the independence of State government and the fundamental law of the Union.”

As the Philadelphia Convention was based on Sectionalism, its hopes of carrying the election resting almost wholly upon that ground, this repudiation by the Judge darkened his prospects. When he added that he would seek reform, instead of opening the treasury and means of the government to be plundered, his chance for a nomination became hopeless, and his name was withdrawn, and one believed to be more yielding and pliant on both points was promptly nominated. Sectionalism for a basis, and plunder for an object, were never more markedly displayed. Both are strikingly manifested in the selection of Fremont and Dayton.

Giddings in the Disunion Convention.

JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS was at this Convention, a leading spirit in all its acts, reeking as he is with the stench of twenty years of Abolitionism. What he did in that Convention, the National Executive Disunion organ at Washington will say. We copy from the Era of the 26th of June, 1856:

“Thank God! the movement has escaped this danger; the counsels of temporizing men have failed; to the bold, clear-sighted Joshua R. Giddings, sustained by the good sense of the Convention, are we indebted for the preservation of the Great Movement against the Slave Power, *free from all entangling alliances.*”

The Friends of Fremont in Illinois.

The Abolition Know Nothings of Illinois, now all for Fremont, adopted the following resolutions, July 11, 1855. Their action since then is even more revolutionary.

"That the time has arrived when the American party of the United States are called upon to take open, fearless, and unreserved ground upon the great question of Slavery, that is now agitating the people of every section of this Union; and that the intense excitement and agitation which at the present time are distracting our country upon the subject of Slavery have been caused by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise; and that that repeal was uncalled for, a gross violation and disregard of a sacred compact, entered into between the two great sections of this confederacy, and in the highest degree destructive to the peace and welfare of this Union. That a restoration of the Missouri Compromise, as it will restore the territory for which it was originally made to the same situation in which it was before that line was unnecessarily destroyed, so it will restore peace and harmony to the country, without injury or injustice to any portion of the Union; that while it will only give to freedom that which with due solemnity and in good faith was long since conveyed to her under the contract, it will equally preserve the full and undisputed rights acquired under it by the South, and that therefore the Missouri Compromise should be restored, and that in all political national contests the American party in the State of Illinois will demand of its candidates for office, among other qualifications, their open and undisguised opinions upon this subject.

"The essential modification of the naturalization laws by extending the time of residence required of those of foreign birth to entitle them to citizenship. A total repeal of all state laws allowing any but citizens of the United States the right of suffrage. But a careful avoidance of all interference with rights of citizenship already acquired under existing laws.

"Resistance to the corrupting influences and aggressive policy of the Romish Church, unswerving opposition to all foreign influence, or interference of foreign emissaries, whether civil or ecclesiastical."

To this we may add the fact that every Black Republican in Congress from Illinois is for Fremont.

Fremont's Friends in New Hampshire.

Gov. Colby, Hale, Tuck, and all the Disunionists in New Hampshire, are under the Fremont flag. The following resolution passed the last Fremont Abolition Legislature of New Hampshire:

"*Resolved*, That the people of New Hampshire demand as a right the restoration of said Compromise, and the amendment of the Kansas and Nebraska bill, so called, so as to exclude Slavery from said Territories, and will never consent to the admission into the Union of any State out of said Territory with a Constitution tolerating Slavery."

JOHN P. HALE, of New Hampshire, a delegate to the Black Republican Fremont Convention of the 17th of June, 1856, addressed that Convention, and said :

"Mr. Hale congratulated the Convention upon the spirit of unanimity with which it had done its work. *I believe*, said he,

that this is not so much a Convention to change the Administration of the Government, but to say whether there shall be any government to be administered. You have assembled, not to say whether this Union shall be preserved, but to say whether it shall be a blessing or a scorn and hissing among the nations. Some men pretend to be astonished and surprised at the events which are occurring around us; but I am not more surprised than I shall be this autumn to see the fruits following the buds and the blossoms."

Fremont's Know Nothing Friends in Massachusetts.

In Massachusetts the Abolition column is a unit for Fremont, and this includes not only Wilson and Sumner, not only Garrison and Wendell Phillips, but, also, the Rockwell and Boston Atlas party.

Senator Wilson and Disunion.

In October, of 1855, Senator WILSON, of Massachusetts, made a speech at the Tabernacle, in New York, in which he said:

"Every generous impulse of the human heart is with us—every affection of the human conscience is with us; the great hopes of the human race are all with us, and we shall triumph in the end; we shall overthrow the slave power of the republic; we shall enthrone freedom; shall abolish slavery in the Territories; we shall sever the national government from all responsibility for slavery, and all connection with it; and then, gentlemen, then, when we have put the nation, in the words of Mr. Van Buren, openly, actually, and perpetually on the side of freedom, we shall have glorious allies in the South. We shall have men like Cassius M. Clay. [Loud applause.] We shall have generous, brave, gallant men rise upon the South, who will, in their own time, in their own way, for the interest of the master and bondsman, lay the foundations of a policy of emancipation that shall give freedom to three and a half millions of men in America. [Enthusiastic applause.] I say, gentlemen, these are our objects, and these are our purposes.

"We shall change the Supreme Court of the United States, and place men in that Court who believe with its pure and immaculate Chief Justice, John Jay, that our prayers will be impious to Heaven, while we sustain and support human slavery. We shall free the Supreme Court of the United States from Judge Kane. [Loud applause.] And here let me say there is a public sentiment growing up in this country that regards Passmore Williamson in his prison—[tremendous applause]—in his prison in Philadelphia, as a martyr to the holy cause of personal liberty. [Great applause.] There is a public sentiment springing up, that will brand upon the brow of Judge Kane a mark that will make him exclaim, as his namesake, the elder Cain, 'It is too great for me to bear.' [Loud applause.]"

Hear Henry Wilson, Senator, in the Philadelphia Know Nothing Convention, June 12, 1855:

"I am in favor of relieving the Federal Government from all connection with, and responsibility for, the existence of slavery. To effect this object I am in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and the prohibition of slavery in all the Territories."

Garrison, Sumner, Banks, Rockwell, and Wilson.

We have already shown that Garrison has resolved to support Fremont; and it is known that Sumner, Banks, Rockwell, and Wilson, do so most heartily. The following exhibits the harmony of feeling between them:

"No union with slaveholders. Up with the flag of Disunion, that we may have a free and glorious Union of our own, &c."—*William L. Garrison.*

"Mark! How stands Massachusetts at this hour in reference to the Union? Just where she ought to be—in an attitude of open hostility."—*The Liberator, Garrison's paper.*

"A northern confederacy, with no union with slaveholders. To this all is fast tending, and to this all must soon come. The longer it is delayed, the worse for the country, and for the cause of freedom. To this end all who love liberty will labor.

"Justice and liberty, God and man, demand the dissolution of this slaveholding Union, and the formation of a NORTHERN CONFEDERACY, in which slaveholders shall stand before the law as felons, and be treated as pirates are treated. God and humanity demand a ballot-box in which the slaveholders shall never cast a ballot. *In this, what State so prepared to lead as the old Bay State? She has already made it a penal offence to help execute a law of the Union. I want to see the officers of the State brought into collision with those of the Union.*"—*Liberator, Sept. 1855.*

This much for Garrison. He leaves no room for doubt as to what he means. He means dissolution, and nothing else. Let us see how these declarations harmonize with some others:

"The good citizen, as he reads the requirements of this act (the fugitive slave) is filled with horror. * * * Here the path of duty is clear. *I am bound to disobey this act.* * * *"

"Sir, I will not dishonor this home of the Pilgrims and of the Revolution by admitting,—nay, I cannot believe—that this bill will be executed here."—*Charles Sumner, Oct. 1850, in Boston, and Aug. 26, 1852, in U. S. Senate.*

"Let us remember that more than three millions of bondmen, groaning under nameless woes, demand that we shall cease to reprove each other, and that we labor for their deliverance. * * *"

"I tell you here to-night, that the agitation of this question of human

slavery will continue while the foot of a slave presses the soil of the American republic.”—*Henry Wilson, United States Senator.*

“I am not one of that class of men who cry for the perpetuation of the Union, though *I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, to let it ‘slide.’*”—*Nathaniel P. Banks, Representative to Congress.*

“I will not stop to inquire whether or not the act is constitutional. If it is not, it ought to be. I view the act as the faithful expression of the moral sentiment of the people of Massachusetts.”—*Mayor Chapin, of Worcester.*

“The object to be accomplished is this: *That the free States shall take possession of the Government by their united votes.* Minor interests and old party affiliations and prejudices must be forgotten. We have the power in number; *our strength is in union.*”—*Simon Brown, Massachusetts Freesoil Candidate for Lieutenant Governor.*

“Recognizing, therefore, *the paramount issue*, I recognize, as the only practical means of sustaining our position upon that issue, our co-operation with the masses of our friends in other States in the formation of the Republican party of the Union.”—*Julius Rockwell, Massachusetts Freesoil Candidate for Governor.*

Hear James Watson Webb, another Fremont leader. (*We copy from Webb’s New York Courier & Enquirer*)—

“We love (quoted) the Whig party, but we love its principles more. We dislike Abolitionism; but we would rather a thousand times vote for Garrison and Tappan as President and Vice President than tamely submit for an hour to the humiliation which the Senate has put upon us by the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.

“We are willing (quoted again) to consort with the most rabid Abolitionists in order to restore the Missouri Compromise, and thus redress a great wrong.”

To which Garrison, in his Boston Liberator, thus affectionately responds :

“THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION ESSENTIAL TO THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—But until we cease to strike hands religiously, politically, and governmentally with the South, and declare the Union to be at an end, I believe we can do nothing even against the encroachments of the slave power upon our rights. When will the people of the North see that it is not possible for liberty and slavery to commingle, or for a true union to be formed between freemen and slaveholders? Between those who oppress and the oppressed, no concord is possible. This Union—it is a lie, an imposture, and our first business is to seek its utter overthrow. In this Union there are three millions and a half of slaves clanking their chains in hopeless bondage. Let the Union be accursed! Look at the awful compromises of the constitution by which that instrument is saturated with the blood of the slave!”

General Webb’s candidate for President has erected his platform!

Fremont's Friends in Massachusetts nullifying the Federal Constitution.

The celebrated Personal Liberty law, passed by the friends of Fremont in the Massachusetts Legislature, nullifying the fugitive slave law, a law based upon that provision of the Federal Constitution without which no Constitution could have been framed and adopted—is as follows:

“By the 10th section it is provided that ‘any person who shall grant a certificate under the act of 1851 shall be deprived of any office he may hold under the Commonwealth, and shall be forever thereafter ineligible to any office of trust, honor, or emolument under the law of the Commonwealth.’

“Obedience to the laws of Congress is thus made a cause why a citizen should be deprived of all public confidence and offices of trust; in other words, rewards are held out for disobedience, while punishment is dealt out for fealty to the Constitution.

“The eleventh section declares that ‘any person who shall act as counsel or attorney for any claimant under said act shall be deprived of any commission he may then hold under the laws of the Commonwealth, and shall be thereafter incapacitated to appear as counsel or attorney in the courts of the Commonwealth.’

“Any attorney who shall presume to pursue his chosen profession, and act as counsel in the United States Courts, to aid in the investigation of the rights of parties, and to give effect to the Constitution he was sworn to support when he became a member of the Massachusetts bar, and without which act he could not practise in said courts, is to be expelled from that same bar for doing what he was required to swear he would do when admitted.

“The 16th section forbids any member of the volunteer militia from aiding in the enforcement of the fugitive slave law, and provides that ‘any member of the same who shall offend against the provisions of this section shall be punished by fine of not less than one thousand and not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment in the State prison not less than one year and not more than two years.’

“Imprisonment ‘not less than one year nor more than two years’ is the moderate penalty attached to the criminal offence of aiding in the execution of the laws of the land. What language of nullification can be plainer? Well did Garrison assert that Massachusetts stands ‘in an attitude of open hostility to the Union!’ ”

Now hear Josiah Quincy of Boston.

JOSIAH QUINCEY is the venerable head of a large class of men in Boston, who are constantly at work against the Union. During the late war with England he began his crusade against the Union, and surpassed its worst adversaries. He assailed Mr. Jefferson for his purchase of Louisiana, in 1803, because this was intended, in his opinion, to extend the area of Slavery. Though past eighty-five, he is still

the enemy of the Democracy. *He is now in the field for Fremont.* What his views now are, may be seen from the following extract from his speech, at Boston, on the 18th of August, 1854.

"The Nebraska fraud is not that burden on which I intend now to speak. There is one nearer home, more immediately present and more insupportable. Of what that burden is, I shall speak plainly. The obligation incumbent upon the free States to deliver up fugitive slaves is that burden—and *it must be obliterated from that Constitution, at every hazard.*

"And such an obliteration can be demonstrated to be as much the interest of the South as it is of the North."

This man knows that we should have no Union or Constitution, but for this very provision!

Josiah Quincy is still in the land of the living; and though approaching his ninetieth year, is still as hostile to the Union as he was fifty-three years ago, while Jefferson was President, or at a later period, when Jackson was chief magistrate.

Fremont's Friends in New York.

Gen. JAMES WATSON WEBB was a delegate to the Black Republican Convention, at Philadelphia, and favored that body with his sage counsels. He delivered a speech, which is reported for the New York Times, and from which we make the following extract, and ask for it a careful perusal:

"Why, I ask, are we here? We are here because the country is in danger. We are here because a solemn compact, by which the curse of Slavery was limited forever to latitude 30 deg. 30 min. has been violently disrupted, torn asunder, and the people of the North told 'you shall have this matter forced upon you.' Now, what are the people doing? Our people, loving order and loving law, and willing to abide by the ballot-box, come together from all parts of the Union and ask us to give them a nomination which, when fairly put before the people, will unite public sentiment, and, through the ballot-box, will restrain and repel this pro-slavery extension, and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you that they are willing to abide by the ballot-box, and willing to make that the last appeal. *If we fail there, what then? We will drive it back, sword in hand, and, so help me God! believing that to be right, I am with them.* [Loud cheers, and cries of 'Good.'] Now, then, gentlemen, on your action depends the result. You may, with God's blessing, present to this country a name rallying around it all the elements of the opposition, and we will thus become so strong that through the ballot-box we shall save the country. *But, if a name be presented on which we may not rally, and the consequence is civil war—yes, nothing more, nothing less, but civil war—I ask, then, what is our first duty?"*

In another part of this pamphlet Mr. Seward's opinion may be found.

Horace Greeley was one of the most active advocates of Fremont, and now advocates him on the Disunion grounds.

James Gordon Bennett has also been hired to advocate Fremont, though on the 4th of April, 1856, he spoke of him in the following insulting terms :

“COL. FREMONT BROUGHT OUT.—The ‘Cleveland Herald’ (NIGGER WORSHIPPER), has hoisted the flag of Col. John C. Fremont, as the proper Presidential candidate of the Anti-slavery Holy Alliance. In the course of a lengthy glorification over him, this Cleveland organ says :

“‘Col. Fremont, we feel authorized to say, does not acquiesce in the Kansas-Nebraska Act ; in submission to the wrong perpetrated in violating the compact ; in the atrocious iniquity of defeating the law thus substituted by force, when it was discovered that it would not subserve the purposes of the enemies of freedom ; and the crime of the Government in upholding that usurpation, the most tyrannical in its laws of any since Draco’s. When the proper occasion comes for an avowal of his principles and purposes on the leading questions of the day, we are assured, he will express them without reserve.’

“It thus appears, that our Cleveland abolition cotemporary speaks by authority. Fremont has caught the White House fever. He is in the hands of his friends. He is rich, exceedingly, and said to be liberal. Does Seward give way, to save expenses, this time ? It looks very much as if Fremont were to be victimized to get the party organized. Let him consult Live Oak George.”

The Avowed Abolitionist and Disunionist, H. Ward Beecher, of New York, on Fremont.

The reverend agitator, Ward Beecher, is out for Fremont, in the last number of his “Independent.” He is, probably, next to Garrison and Phillips, the most profligate calumniator of the Constitution and the Union. Now for the opinions of this new captain of the Fremont forces :

On the 16th of January, 1855, Beecher said, in a lecture in New York, on the subject of cutting the North from the South :

“All attempts at evasion, at adjourning, at concealing and compromising, are in vain. The reason of our long agitation is, not that restless Abolitionists are abroad, that ministers will meddle with improper themes, that parties are disregarding of their country’s interest. These are symptoms only, not the disease ; the effects, not the causes.

“Two great powers that will not live together are in our midst, and tugging at each other’s throats. They will search each other out, though you separate them a hundred times. And if by an insane blindness you shall contrive to put off the issue, and send this unsettled dispute down to your children, it will go down, gathering volume and strength at every step, to waste and desolate their heritage. Let it be settled now. Clear the place.

Bring in the champions. Let them put their lances in rest for the charge. Sound the trumpet, and *God save the right!*"

Rifles before Bibles.

At a public meeting held in his church to promote emigration to Kansas, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher made the following remarks, as we find them in the report of the New York *Evening Post*:

"He believed that the Sharp rifle was truly *moral* agency, and there was more moral power in one of those instruments, so far as the slaveholders of Kansas were concerned, than in a hundred Bibles. You might just as well, said he, read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow; but they have a supreme respect for the logic that is embodied in Sharp's rifles. The Bible is addressed to the conscience; but when you address it to them it has no effect—there is no conscience there. Though he was a peace man, he had the greatest regard for Sharp's rifles, and for that pluck that induced those New England men to use them. In such issues, under such circumstances, he was decidedly in favor of such instrumentalities. General Scott had said it was difficult to get the New England men into a quarrel, but when they are waked up and have the law on their side, they are the ugliest customers in the world."

The *New York Observer*, a religious paper, of vast influence, copying the above, adds:

"We remember the time when, in the same church, the same minister of the Gospel of Christ presented a cannon-ball to a political agitator as the argument to which it was best to resort. That act, as inconsistent as it then appeared, and still appears to us, was innocent compared with the intemperate, not to say sacrilegious language of the extract made above."

WHAT A COMBINATION! Seward, Greeley, Bennet, Watson Webb, H. Ward Beecher, &c. There can be no doubt that this goodly company will speedily be increased by the addition of Fred. Douglass and his *black* republicans.

Every Black Republican in Congress, from New York, is now the earnest advocate of Fremont.

Another Disunion Witness for Fremont.

From the New York National Anti-Slavery Standard, June 21, 1856.

"THE ABOLITIONISTS AS PROPHETS.—Whoever has been an attentive reader of Anti-Slavery literature and journalism for the last fifteen or twenty years, cannot but have been struck with the spirit of prophecy that runs

through it all. To be sure, the Abolitionists may be said to belong to that large class of prophets who help to bring about the accomplishment of their own predictions. But it is a proof that they have known what they wanted, and also how best to bring it about. They have had a clear vision from the beginning of the way in which they were to walk, and of the work which they had to do. They acted on certain fixed principles, basing their measures on the nature of things and the nature of man; and, as their principles were eternally right, and their views of man and his ways founded on reason and experience, and as their speculations and their practice had no taint of selfishness in them, it was almost inevitable that they should see clearly and act sagaciously. Only, they have not seen half that was to come to pass, and the times were hidden from them, so that they are astonished at the haste with which the procession of events hurries past, in spite of the second sight which discerned their coming shadows in the distant future.

"Among the many predictions which they have uttered, or rather the many statements they have made, as to what must come to pass, the one which five or six years ago, seemed the wildest, *was the necessary division of the nation into two parts—the Northern and the Southern—of which the principles should be Slavery and Anti-Slavery.* Five years ago, what seemed more unlikely than that the nation should be divided into strictly sectional parties as it is now? The Whigs were running up their bids for slaveholding support with a desperation which showed that they had abandoned any other hope of success. Daniel Webster had abandoned all hope of a North, and had flung himself and all he had at the feet of the Slave-masters, as his last and only chance for the eminence he sighed for. They spurned him away, to be sure, and sent him broken-hearted into his grave; but they appointed both the candidates and elected the one they loved the best.

"The idea of a Northern party, of a party which should not extend its ramifications into the Southern States, was regarded as something worse than a chimera, as a positive imagining of the death of the Republic, as a positive misprision of treason. What a change has come over the dreams of the people since then! The Whig party, five years ago in power, and with a reasonable prospect of maintaining it, now dispersed, is demolished and ground to powder. Their very name has vanished from the face of the earth—or exists only as a mockery and a laughing-stock. The Abolitionists foresaw that this must come to pass; but they did not dream of its accomplishing itself so soon." "That the National parties should sooner or later divide on the only real matter of dispute existing in the country, was inevitable."

"But the lines are now drawn and the hosts are encamped over against each other. The attempt to keep up a delusive alliance with natural enemies has been abandoned.

"The Abolitionists have been telling these things in the ears of the people for a quarter of a century. They have had a double part in what has come to pass, both by preparing the minds of the people of the North, and *by compelling the people of the South to the very atrocities which have startled the North into attention.* Nothing but the madness which ushers in destruction and the pride which goeth before a fall, on the part of the slaveholders, could have roused the sluggish North from its comfortable dreams of wealth, and made it put itself even into a posture of resistance."

"The North is in a state of excitement, temporary perhaps, but real for the time, and the widening lines of division between the North and South are growing deep and distinct.

"It is long since this paper took the ground that the *first thing, though by no means the only thing, needful was the formation of Sectional parties—of parties distinctly Northern and Southern, and, of necessity, Slavery and Anti-Slavery.* We rejoice that our eyes behold the day of that beginning of the end. Not that we have any very exalted hopes from the success of the Republican party, even if we considered its success a very likely thing. All that it proposes to itself is to keep Slavery out of Kansas, provided the actual settlers there do not want to have it in. This is a very small platform for a great party to stand upon, it must be owned; and in rejoicing to see it, we certainly are grateful for very moderate mercies. But it is not the platform that is significant—it is not the point nominally at issue that is the material thing. *The position is everything.* It is the attitude that is expressive and encouraging. *It is the entire separation of the party from all Southern alliance, and from all possibility of Slaveholding help, that gives it its encouraging aspect and makes it with all its shortcomings, a thing to thank God for.*

"We need hardly say that we do not look upon this new party as one that should supersede the Anti-Slavery Movement. *It has sprung from that movement, and whatever of strength and hope it has lies in the Anti-Slavery feeling of the Northern mind.* It is vain that servile men-pleasers seek to separate this effect from its Anti-Slavery origin. *The Slaveholders stamp it with its real character, and DESCRIBE IT BETTER THAN IT LIKES TO DO ITSELF.* It is true that the differing sagacities of the Slaveholders and the Abolitionists both discern that this must be the ultimate result."

The Disunion Organ at the seat of the National Government out for Fremont.

From the Washington National Era, of June 26, 1856.

"Having thus given an exposition of the action of the Convention, and defined our position, we shall henceforth do all that may lie in our power to bring about a perfect union of the friends of Freedom at home and of good faith and peace in our foreign relations, against the Cincinnati nominations, pledged as they are by the platform which accompanies them, and the majority who framed both, to Slavery at home and filibustering abroad. Like many others, we may have been vexed, disappointed, sometimes mortified, at the injudicious and unfair measures of men who ought to have known better; but, we place our great movement above men: it is the only movement which aims or is calculated to save Kansas, and put an end to the despotism which repealed the Missouri Compromise, and is perpetually seeking to subjugate the country to Slavery: its platform is clear, sound, and comprehensive: its nominations must represent it: by sustaining them, we sustain it: opposition to them will only tend to perpetuate the spirit and policy of an Administration which has brought the country to the verge of civil and foreign war. Will not patriotic men, whatever may have been their preferences, hesitate long before assuming such a responsibility as that?"

From the same paper of July 3, 1856.

"The Philadelphia Convention has defined the issues of the campaign, framed the platform, made the nominations, and respectfully called upon the People of the United States, without distinction of party, to sustain them. We shall be very happy to see North Americans and South Americans and all sorts of Americans rallying to the standard of Fremont, and uniting to put down the Slave Power, but let us have no talk of special arrangements with any particular class or party."

Fremont's Friends in Pennsylvania.

We aver that there is not an Abolitionist or Disunionist in Pennsylvania who is not an active and open friend of John C. Fremont for the Presidency. David Wilmot and William F. Johnston lead the motley crew, both recreants from the Democratic party, because the Democratic party respected the Constitution of the United States, and would not desert its injunctions. Ever since their recreancy, they have been busied in doing all within their power to destroy the efficiency of the Democracy, and to assist the worst fanatics of the day. Conservative men will not forget that Johnston, when the Legislature of Pennsylvania passed a law for the purpose of assisting the officers of the General Government to execute the fugitive slave law, put the bill in his pocket, while Governor of the State, and retained it, thus defeating the object of the majority of the Legislature. Wilmot has proceeded from bad to worse. At first, he was only in favor of the Wilmot proviso, and continued to profess to be a Democrat for some time. Now he is the companion and friend of men, whom, ten years ago, he would have regarded it as a personal insult to be associated with. We might enumerate a hundred others of the same way of thinking, but it is enough for us to mention Thaddeus Stevens, Passmore Williamson, and the officers of the Abolition and Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia. The plotters of the Christiana outrage are all embarked in the cause which acknowledges John C. Fremont as its leader and its candidate.

The only candidate to arrest this tide of demoralization and sectionalism, is James Buchanan. It is against him and against the Constitution that this combination has been formed. It is in vain for a conservative citizen, of whatever politics, to close his eyes to the fact that the choice is narrowed down between Buchanan and Fremont, between the Constitution as represented by the one, and Disunion as represented by the other. The election of the latter

would dissolve every tie binding these States together. It would convert the District of Columbia into the theatre of a civil war; it would alienate every Southern State through its representatives, and it would leave in each branch of Congress a fanatical representation committed to the worst doctrines that have ever been preached or practised in any country. It is also in vain for moderate order-loving citizens to deny to themselves that the combination which supports John C. Fremont is at the same time the representative of other factions, and that chief among these latter is the faction of Abolition Know Nothings. The national men in the North and South who still support Mr. Fillmore, are regarded already by Fremont and his friends as certain, in the end, to prove his willing or unwilling allies. Even now where there are Fremont and Fillmore tickets running in the free States, such men as Wm. F. Johnston, Thaddeus Stevens, and David Wilmot, of Pennsylvania, have prepared a plan by which the National friends of Fillmore and the Disunion friends of Fremont shall vote the same electoral ticket, though Fillmore himself has denounced in terms of withering eloquence the platform upon which Fremont stands, while in the South every vote thrown for Mr. Fillmore is more or less an aid to John C. Fremont, to the extent that it may weaken James Buchanan.

We would speak of Mr. Fillmore with entire respect. His speech at Albany was patriotic and forcible, but it cannot be denied that out of New York, in the North, all those who pretend to support him will be called upon in the State elections to unite against the Democratic party with the friends of Fremont, otherwise known as the Black Republicans. In the November election, when the Presidential candidates come to be voted for, a similar attempt will be made to bring his friends into the support of the same electoral ticket, which is pledged to the support of the candidate of Greeley, Seward, and Giddings.